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ABSTRACT

A discussion of passive verb forms and the passive voice attempts to explain the nature of passives and to offer composition teachers some reference points for teaching them. Twelve arguments are proposed to explain resistance to the teaching of passives; each is termed a continuum in order to help assess understandings and attitudes. The 12 contexts in which passives are considered are those of: protocol (acceptance or popularity); verb transitivity; asymmetry or morphological forms; features used to compose the structures in discourse texts; quantification; a content continuum for the semantics field; contextual compatibility; style and markedness; the filtering of information by composition teachers; whether or not voice is context-free; transfer or non-transfer from other languages, in the case of instruction in English as a Second Language; and topicalization versus focalization. (Contains 40 references.) (MSE)

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Passive Continua and the ESL Instructor of
Composition

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PASSIVE CONTINUA AND THE ESL INSTRUCTOR OF COMPOSITION

Jacob Caflisch, Sr., Ph.D.

It is no understatement to characterize our century as a technically violent one, and this situation probably to some extent describes more and more of our classrooms where language arts prevail. The bane of the composition instructor seems to be the passive, providing us with a convenient battleground of uncertain stakes; and, so far, nobody is winning. Passives are part of a legitimate bag of tricks--certainly the most notorious of all grammatical amphiboles.

Linguists have explored various models of the passive, but nobody seems to want to answer the question: Why is the passive hated so much? It stands unique amongst unpopular sentence constructions--an outcast, and casualty on the field of battle. Indeed, I suppose that if the category of voice were human, passive bashing could be said to be the premier example of *argumentum ad hominem*. I have never been able to find any intelligent reasons for the hatred other than simple prejudice of various origins. At worst, some who claim to be strict *activa tanta* authors, are in real life unwary hypocrites, since stative passive participles, for example, are derivatives in some generative models of deep-structure sentences with stative verbs. Relativization, WH + BE, and adjective-promotion transformations derive these passive participles. The consensus must be that no one knows the nature of the *stigmata* on passives. This paper explores some possible areas to seek an explanation. I call my arguments continua in an effort to indicate the nature of these unclear understandings and point out why I am using a mean, ugly judgment such as hypocrisy to characterize the friendly, neighborhood stigmaters amongst some fellow composition instructors.

I. THE CONTINUUM OF PROTOCOL

First, let me approach the idea of continuum by saying that a scale can be set up for most, if not all real objects in our universe. For many centuries scientists have been putting *flora* and *fauna* along a continuum according to the anatomical structures that they exhibit. *Chordata* are "higher" beings than *coelenterata*

(sponges), and the latter are "higher" than *amabæ*. Vertebrates are "higher" than invertebrates. In the world of *floræ* we speak of *dicotyledons* and *monocotyledons* as being "higher" than *bryophytes* (mosses). Of course, these are all surface structure judgments according to preselected criteria in applied and theoretical science.

Similarly, in language science, we can construct a continuum or scale of protocol for, say, the phonemes. At one end we can show very popular sounds--in fact--the universal ones such as / i, u /; and at the opposite extreme we can obtain sounds that simply cannot exist at all such as a *labio-uvular fricative. Such an outrageous anatomical monstrosity would be a member of the set of 100% marked phonological segments, which would define exactly the term gap--so popular in linguistic science. We can thus envision a scale from 100% popular (unmarked) or maximally universal to unpopular--even nonexistent because of an impossibility of occurrence. In phonology / a / and / æ / lie toward the popular end, but / ʊ, ɔ, ɪ, ɔ /, in this order, zoom toward the unpopular end very rapidly. Indeed, some of these sounds have *præconditions* for their existence, e.g., no / ɔ / without *both* / e / and / o / in a given system; no / ʊ / without *both* / i / and / u /.

II. THE CONTINUUM OF TRANSITIVITY

In grammar, too, we can find continua. The verb, for example, can be envisioned along a scale of transitivity, just as acids in the chemistry laboratory exhibit different conductivity (=transitivity) levels of electricity. The Mendeleev matrix reveals many qualities in terms of predictabilities according to the locations of elements in rows and columns. Indeed, Sir William Ramsey was able to predict that Neon gas should be "out there" based upon the facts of the Mendeleev table. In like manner, amongst English verbs, I argue that SEE and HEAR are weakly transitive, but this is so only according to a rather contrived and artificial difference between the semantic (or feature) world and the syntactic (or linear) world. If we accept Fillmore's (1968) logic concerning features, the "subject" of a SEE or HEAR sentence ought to be marked [EXPERIENCER], and the object or patient as [STIMULUS]. Then, again, perhaps we can expand our characterizations to include some uses of sensory verbs such as FEEL as used in a sentence such as *Colonel*

Wrongway felt the pain of the charge. Here, the good colonel is [EXPERIENCER], and *pain* can be analyzed as [STIMULUS]. It should be quite obvious that such a construction is alien to a POKE, SHOVE, KILL, MAIM, SHOOT sentence, wherein the "subjects" are comfortably [AGENT], and objects comfortably (or rather, mostly uncomfortably) [PATIENT]. In short, HEAR sentences do not exist on a continuum semantically in the same location where we find a KILL sentence. Is it not interesting that English structure does not bother to worry about this difference syntactically? We do not find good *morphosyntactic* evidence for what appears to be a rather pragmatic conclusion concerning the *behavior patterning* of verbs in English. However, in terms of the behavior in some languages, strong (continuum) transitivity has a prominent leaning toward what I call *violent* verbs. These are exactly the verbs that make patients uncomfortable like STAB, WOUND, KNIFE, SHOOT, and the like. In fact, I teach that it is always easy to identify the patient strings under such conditions. So, the continuum for transitivity runs from violence verbs such as HIT, STRIKE₁¹, KILL, MAIM, GAUGE, POKE, through the gamut to SEE, HEAR, with verbs somewhat on the transitive end such as HAVE, WEIGH₁²--the latter two which some refer to as middle verbs. If we consider the criterion for transitivity to be passivity, we note that HAVE and WEIGH₁ resist passive constructions, for sentences like **156 pounds is weighed by Antoine* and **100 books are had by Ms. Bigg Lipp* cannot occur. Apparently these two verbs, for example, are closer to a copula status akin to TASTE₁ in sentences like *Grandma Antigogglin's pie tastes weird*. Here we can react to weirdness as a function of subjects in TASTE₁ sentences, exactly as 156 pounds is a quality/quantity ascribed to subjects of WEIGH₁ sentences.

Strong transitivity for English seems to be a guarantee that the two core arguments (for 2-place, 2-ary constructions) should have nothing to do with each other relative to shared quality or quantity. In *Antoine stabbed Porphyry*, Antoine and Porphyry need not share any quality or quantity. Because Porphyry in Fillmore's sense is a true patient,³ STAB is a strong transitive verb.

For passive-bashers, BE BORN should present a serious problem since it is a unique idiom--indeed, a *passivum tantum* verb. We get *Ms. Upak N. Stihwahl was born in 1942*, but we cannot obtain ***Somebody*

borned Ms. Upak N. Stihwahl in 1942, or *Somebody bore Ms. Upak N. Stihwahl in 1942. Thus, for the Great American Anti-Passive League, a horrible realization surfaces: active here is ungrammatical.⁴

One of the most illustrative languages to show the transitivity continuum as a function of morphosyntax at the surface⁵ level is Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Southern California. Here we note that verbs exist in different places along a discriminatory continuum for transitivity just as do English verbs—or verbs in other languages. In Luiseño, we see obvious surface differences and contrasts. Strong transitives like KILL, STRIKE₁ require alternating (often suppletive) verb roots under the rubric of a cooccurrence restriction of government depending upon the category of *number* assigned to the PATIENT strings. Let me illustrate this situation below, where the verb roots are given in upper case spellings.

(1) čaam MOQNAwun hunwuti. 'we're killing the bear [sg.]
[we KILL trp bear -sg- PAT]

(2) čaam QE?Ewun hunwutumi. 'we're killing the bears [pl.]
[we KILL trp bear-pl-PAT]

What I have been calling a weak transitive like SEE turns out in Luiseño to lie outside the criterion of transitivity, in that this verb has *no* alternating (or suppletive) root:

(3) čaam TOOWwun ehenmayi. 'we see the bird [sg.]
[we SEE- 3 pl trp bird-sg-PAT]
(where surface *caim* < deep **ca* ‡ *um*)

(4) čaam TOOWwun ehenmayumi. 'we see the birds [pl.]
[we SEE- 3 pl trp bird-pl-PAT]

Now, in Luiseño, intransitives, such as verbs of motion and body noises: RUN, FLY, SKI, SKATEBOARD for the former, and SNEEZE, COUGH, BURP, SNORE, FART, for the latter, etc. appear to have *alternating (or suppletive) verb roots* as do the strong transitives. It would appear that according to

morphosyntactic criteria Luisefño groups intransitives and strong transitives in opposition to weak transitives. The intransitive sentences below complement the discussion thus far.

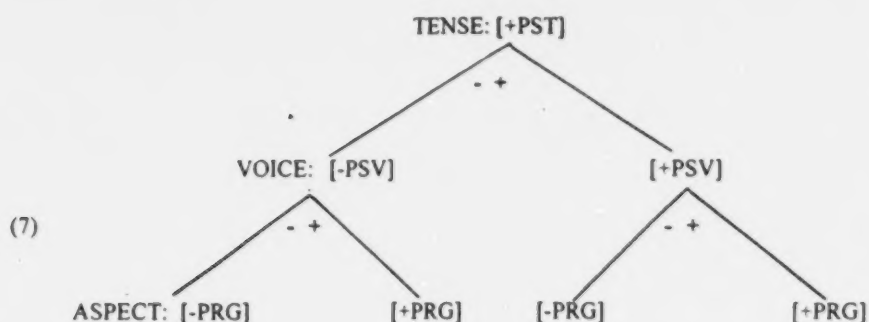
- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (5) | caam
[we] | NOORaan
RUN-3 pl trp] | 'we're running' |
| (6) | hunwut
[bear-sg] | POKWAq
RUN-3 sg trp] | 'the bear is running' |

From the Luisefño data, I show students in my Contrastive Linguistics and Error Analysis course lectures that at the morphosyntactic level "subjects" of intransitive verbs ought to be considered to be marked [PATIENT], only without the suffix *-i*. All other phenomena are equal to the strong transitive template. Of course, students can readily see that what in Luisefño can be taught in grammar at the surface, is totally absent in English--that is, the student cannot get any clues from any structures. The sentences *Alphonse hit Georgiette* and *Alphonse saw Georgiette* are thought of as being the same structurally.

III. THE ASYMMETRY CONTINUUM

A third dimension now comes to mind: the *asymmetry continuum*. In my courses I often teach what is called the tense & aspect matrix. These categories are vitally important in the language template in order to help identify times of reference and speaker's biases concerning the message, the addressee(s), and the ambiance of the situation in which these all are embedded. In a practical vein, these categories are ideal for teaching English verb morphology. There is an especially convincing unit in my syllabi, but it still is a teacher's nightmare, that is, the reality of *discontinuity*⁶ among some morphemes. Two problems will emerge from this section. First, the discontinuity in the horizontal, syntagmatic plane, and second, the asymmetry in terms of a paradigmatic selection of category.

I like to teach these categories by using a standard tree on which are plotted the variables spelled under TENSE [TNS], VOICE [VOI], and ASPECT [ASP]. I put TNS at the top of the tree, followed by VOI and finally by ASP. For TNS there is the choice [+PST] and [-PST]. For VOI, we use [+PSV] or [-PSV], and for ASP we find [+PRG] or [-PRG]. For each of these, I put the *marked* form to the right on the tree. A basic format looks like this:



For assigning tense, I use [-D₁] (minus D-one) for [-PST]. This [-D₁] can be understood to represent [+Z₃] which usually associates with 'present' or 'future' in function. The latter, 'future', is structured differently by use of the node AUX with verbs WILL or SHALL. We say that the future concentrates on time zones ahead of the (immediate) NOW. Because of this, *events to come*, or happenings in such zones can be termed *hypothetical*. So, we come to a feature bundle representing these facts

(8)

$$\begin{bmatrix} -D_1 \\ +HYP \end{bmatrix}$$

Contrary to this, however, the immediate NOW should be signalled by the bundle

(9)

$$\begin{bmatrix} -D_1 \\ -HYP \end{bmatrix}$$

Now, since ASP plays a role in assuring that ONGOINGNESS is realizable, we ought to be able to refine this last representation so that progressivity can be marked as given below:

$$(10) \quad \begin{bmatrix} - D_1 \\ - HYP \\ + PRG \end{bmatrix}$$

It is this last bundle that exists as the *sine qua non* in the PERFECT ONGOING NOW. This arrangement will accommodate sentences such as

- a. Alphonse is walking to the post office.
- b. Jerry is trying to avoid Tom's tricks.
- c. Chomsky is attempting to distance himself from former theoretical positions.

If we proceed to fill in the values for these bundles, however, we come against stark asymmetrical assignments (for *future* and virtually all *compound strings*).

- a. [+PST] [-PSV] [-PRG]: She struck the gong.
- b. [+PST] [-PSV] [+PRG]: She was striking the gong.
- c. [+PST] [+PSV] [-PRG]: The gong was struck.
- d. [-PST] [+PSV] [+PRG]: The gong was being struck.
- e. [+PST] [-PSV] [-PRG]: She had struck the gong.
- f. [+PST] [-PSV] [+PRG]: She had been striking the gong.
- g. [+PST] [+PSV] [-PRG]: The gong had been struck.
- h. ?[+PST] [+PSV] [+PRG]: The gong had been ?being struck.
- i. etc.

The question to ask is whether such strings are grammatical. These strings should theoretically be possible at the pragmatosemantic level, but nevertheless remain suppressed in practice. It is not that there is no meaning available to such strings, but that there is the aura of mystery surrounding their acceptance amounting perhaps to the same public attitude at work as that which holds sway over passivization.

When the matrix has been filled in for all structures, it will reveal a lack of output for the feature bundle

$$(11) \quad \begin{matrix} * \sim ? \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} +PFV \\ +PSV \\ -PRG \\ +HYP \\ -D_1 \end{array} \right] \end{matrix}$$

The $* \sim ?$ notation asks whether the ungrammaticality is due to some nature of the syntax (*), or some usage stigma is placed on it (?). With the bundle shown in (11) we can judge such sentences as the following.

(12) $* \sim ?$ He has been being destroyed [state].

(13) $** \sim ?$ He has been being persecuted [process].

Perhaps the use of $[+D_1]$ carries a slight amelioration:

(14) $* \sim ??$ He had been being destroyed [process].

(15) $* \sim ??$ He had been being persecuted [process].

This may be the case since $[+D_1]$ is generally compatible with previous events within narrative sequence. In this last set (14, 15), we get the bundle

(16)

*~?

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{PFV} \\ +\text{PSV} \\ +\text{PRG} \\ +\text{D}_1 \end{bmatrix}$$

It might be possible that this slight amelioration in (16) is due to the fact that passivity accepts a wider range of sentences with [+D₁] than with [-D₁] (again according to previous knowledge of action or its relevance to conversational background. More events are likely to be OLD INFORMATION in the past).

(17) [u] Alphonse was helped along in his algebra by Victor.

(18) [m] Alphonse is helped along in his algebra by Victor.

The issue here is one of antecedent information which expects [PAT] strings to have been mentioned previously, and here (17) is more situation-generic.

It is clear from this material that, for reasons including unknown pressures of various sorts, the English verbal paradigm/matrix is asymmetric. At this juncture, we turn now to a fourth continuum, which naturally follows from the preceding one.

IV. A CONTINUUM OF FEATURES

There is a continuum of acceptance which is detectible due to the features being used to compose structures in discourse texts. It was Declés who pointed out that features such as [ANIMATE] and [PERFECTIVE] determine certain degrees of grammaticality. To this observation the criteria of syntax and pragmatics ought to be added. Just as Chomsky's celebrated sentence

- (19) **Colorless green ideas sleep furiously.*

can be shown to be syntactically acceptable but semantically anomalous, we can claim that the feature continuum of passivity also has a problem with syntactic and pragmatic separation. We can turn to Declés for some sentences revealing such separation. (I have changed the NP variables to make the messages clearer to our own times):

- (20) ? *Kennedy has visited Xruščev.*

where the line of separation between syntax and pragmatosemantics can be discussed as follows: (1) in syntax [in terms of feature bundles], the outcome is marked approximately */[m] by most speakers; and (2) in terms of pragmatosemantics, most speakers assign ok [u]. This contrasts with Harris (Harris, 1982:290). In the sentence

- (21) ?/* *Nietzsche has visited Chomsky.*

both syntactic and pragmatosemantic worlds accept rather the assignment */[m]. The flip side of this reasoning is seen in the passivized version of (21):

- (22) *Chomsky has been visited by Nietzsche.*

Here, the syntactic world accepts the rearrangement of the bundles of features, giving the assignment ok/[u]; but the pragmatosemantic world assigns ungrammatical status to it, or */[m].

At this juncture we see that not all spaces for the matrix/paradigm can be filled. Either there are syntactic difficulties or there are pragmatosemantic hurdles, or both.

Babby and Brecht (1975) argued convincingly that Russian passivization involves the problem of asymmetry amongst feature bundles. Together with them we claim that Chomsky's description of passive constructions in both Chomsky (1957) and (1965) are faulty. Passive surfaces should not be derived from active counterparts by optional transformation (1957), nor by a tag for obligatory PSV transformation (1965) through tree mnemonics like BY-PSV, which act as a trigger to activate passivization from an active base. In addition, we might mention that a dangerous reality ensues during the transformation of sentences involving *quantification* of any sort, since these logical operators cannot cross one another in syntax without tampering with meanings. Thus a kind of continuum of *quantification* applies here. Here we embark upon some of the classical operators that have been long in use by logicians.

V. A QUANTIFICATION CONTINUUM

Problems in the syntactic mapping of quantification have been developed since the early days of generative syntax.⁷ The *crossing phenomenon* affects semantic outputs of surfaces in languages such as English and Russian. Let us look at Chomsky's celebrated sentences

(23) *All the students in this room know two languages.*

(24) *Two languages are known by all the students in this room.*

These two sentences serve to illustrate the nature of the issue. Grinder and Elgin (1973:151f.) also present a fine argument in the use of TAG arguments or ON-THE-OTHER-HAND tags found in sentences:

(25) *Many people don't accept the present social structure, but many do.*

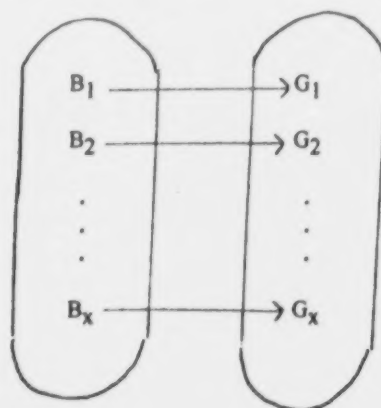
(26) **The present social structure isn't accepted by many people, but many do.*

Grammars based on syntactic information will not satisfy requirements of the pragmatosemantic world, where limitations expressed by linearization do not exist. Indeed, it appears that the crossover phenomenon gets in the way, so to speak. It is a mere nuisance relegated to laws of syntactic problems associated with the linearization mode. An addressee, however, must decode the surface input back toward the pragmatosemantic world of meaningful reality. The string *two languages* in (24) by being old information, imparts the definiteness to the quantifier *two*--a feature not present in the new information *two languages* in (23), where the string is part of the new material of the complement syntax. The next pair of sentences are much more direct as indicators of the problems inherent with this continuum:⁸

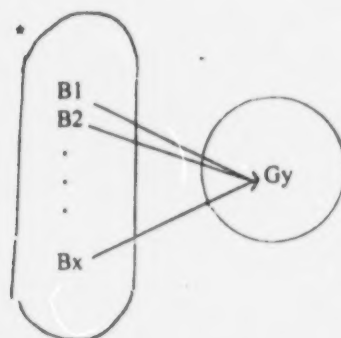
(27) *All the boys on the USF campus love a girl.*

(28) *A girl is loved by all the boys on the USF campus.*

The issue can be put into perspective by applying logical set notation such as found in symbolic logic textbooks.⁹ Sentence (27) has the strategy below, where the item on the left represents a range, and those on the right the domain AGT and PAT, respectively.



Sentence (27) does not fit the range/domain schematum below:



Sentence (28) is just the reverse. Actually, the use of the idea that a reflexive pronoun replaces a NP string explains the quasi-deep analysis (28) below as (29):

(29) $S_m[\text{there is a girl } S_c[\text{a girl is loved by all the boys on the USF campus}]_{S_c}]_{S_m}$

Here we can delete the S-introducer formula *there is a*, exposing the constituent sentence S_c , which has undergone passivization. Decl  s also gives the λ -calculus for (27, 28) (as 30 and 31, respectively):

(30) $\forall x \exists y: \beta(x) \wedge \gamma(y) \Rightarrow \lambda(x, y).$

(31) $\exists y \forall x: \gamma(y) \wedge \beta(x) \Rightarrow \lambda(y, x).$

Now we have a glimpse of the all-important pragmatosemantic world of deep structure which is the basis for a speaker's version of grammar. Truth conditions for grammaticality must be mappable--capable of linearization into syntax at some point in the grammar, and in accordance with UG template theory. Virtually all items that feed the logical schemata above are reversed: where (30) has $\forall x \exists y$, (31) must have $\exists y \forall x$; whereas (30) has $\beta \dots \gamma$, (31) has $\gamma \dots \beta$; and whereas (30) features λ , (31) has λ , with reversed AGT and PAT roles. In (30), we get $(x, y) \in \lambda$, but in (31) the form is $(y, x) \in \lambda$ *in toto*. Thus, since the

truth conditions shown in these mappings differ, the sentences must differ. The issue of passive-active relations lies well beyond the confines of single-sentence networks in a grammar. Three areas discussed in this paper are little understood by the American Anti-Passivist League: (1) the nature of asymmetry in the paradigm/matrix, (2) the hidden conspiratorial qualities of quantification as it appears to pass itself off as equivalent operations, and (3) the markedness constraints inherent within the feature bundles and their roles vs. pragmatosemantic judgments within contexts available to syntax.

VI. A CONTENT CONTINUUM FOR THE SEMANTIC WORLD

A sixth continuum speaks of context--the broad field on which a message travels and makes its journey in the mind of the reader/listener. Since the problems associated with passivity cannot be handled by a single sentence, we must look beyond strings called sentence, that is $S[X]S$. This *beyondness* is defined in part as context. So passivity clearly depends upon discourse analyses for its *raison d'être* in grammatical theories, of whatever model. The field of semantics eventually will haunt the grammarian, even if he or she desires to keep grammar limited to phonology and syntax (to the horror of the Prague School in general and to Roman Jakobson, for example, in particular). We can accept the string

- (32) *Alphonse visited Nikita.*

However, Harris's (1982:29-363) sentence

- (33) *?Göthe has visited Lago di Garda.*

is certainly no better than our sentence

- (34) *?Kennedy has visited Xruščev (repeating (20) for convenience)*

I want to point out an instance of ungrammatical active voice to the staunch conservative composition-grammarian who naïvely feels that active is kosher (for all seasons for all reasons). We have with this continuum come to the question: Would anti-passivist purists *detect* the issue here? We can propose a syntactic feature bloc which is, of course, linear and representable in English as

$$(35) \quad *? \quad \# \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -DEF \\ +ANIM \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +PFV \\ -PSV \\ -D_2 \\ -HYP \end{bmatrix} \dots \#$$

This analysis of feature blocs I call a linear bundle appropriation constraint [LBAC] for passive in English.

1. A parallel to the LBAC can be drawn from the field of music theory. In the time of Johann Sebastian Bach chord-progression constraints [CPCs] were highly in vogue in terms of a shorthand system called *figured bass*. CPCs were religiously followed and they were the established grammar of musical expression. This was a syntax of chords. Both *linear* (i.e. syntagmatic) movements and *vertical* (i.e. paradigmatic) movements, or chord-construction constraints [CCCs] were followed practically to the letter of the law. For example, figured bass notation did not allow linear *in-house* chordal constructions as *parallel (perfect) fifths* nor *(perfect) octaves* for four-part harmony. Here are some examples (36) of both an ungrammatical progression, followed by a grammatical one.

(36) a. b.

$E^b : \cdot VII^7 - I \quad V^7 - I$

* $\left[\begin{array}{c|c} & C - B^b \\ \hline S & F - E^b \end{array} \right] S$

The chords in (36a) are ungrammatical. *VII - I which allows parallel fifths were not at that time considered correct harmony either from paradigmatic or syntagmatic criteria. By contrast, item (36b) shows *syntactically* acceptable figured bass notation, V - I, and the parts move *contrariwise*--that is, as the bass moves in one direction, the three upper voices either (a) remain B^b - B^b in the *alto* line, or (b) move upward to the nearest member of the chord resolutions, e.g., R^b - G in the *tenor* line, and F - E^b in the *soprano*. I address other concerns in music and language in another study (Caflich, forthcoming).

VII.A CONTEXTUAL COMPATIBILITY CONTINUUM

Although sporadically in vogue within mainstream *linguistica Americana*, the study of old and new information also reveals a continuum affecting the acceptability of passive strings. This field of study is still healthy and productive in Czech and Slovak scholarship as originally formulated in the Prague School by Vilém Mathesius and his sentence perspective calculus.¹⁰

In Richmond, KY in 1977 I discussed an English paragraph calculus in attempting to set up a generalized paragraph template for reasoning according to American English. The dynamics appears basically to be linear, either as a basic inductive calculus, or a deductive one, whereby markedness for strategic sentence shifts in the one as compared with the other, in general, is reversed.¹¹ Many ideas I expressed then have been supported and augmented in subsequent discourse analyses. An independent treatment of a similar issue is noted in R. Kaplan's studies of whole composition *text calculi* as these pertain to culturo-linguistic formatting of narration by natives of various languages and language families. Indeed, it has been widely accepted that scientific or formal--thereby impersonal--writing is noted for high passive context. There are two continua at work here: (1) FSP in the sentence, and (2) Kaplan's text calculi. Thus, my early statements concerning deductive/inductive paragraph calculus and Kaplan's text calculus are both

microindicators of how culture may map reasoning and argumentation as both seek to explain a goal or Textgeist. One culture may not accept the "trains of thought" used by another. So, we may say that new and old information may not be treated alike cross-culturally. Speakers generally assume that addressees are familiar with strings accepted as old information. Some addressees may likely need more information, or at least speakers seem to feel instinctively that this is true because it is part of language that apparently is not "taught" in the sense that a school subject is.

People who are familiar with (or are perceived by speakers to be familiar with) old information need less redundancy in conversation. The problem is this: Can a speaker be sure that an addressee shares fully old material? Quite often there are topic-introducers (formulae) which speakers use to determine the amount of knowledge. They are like spies, sent out to spy out the addressee's knowledge of the subject. A few of them run as follows:

- (37) You remember that old barn we played in when we were kids? Well, ...
- (38) You know that kid that moved in next door? Well, ...
- (39) You know Ms. Upak N. Stihwahl? Well, ...
- (40) You remember that time when I gave you a black eye? Well, ...

I call these *recollection formulae*. They generally are introducers, or ask the addressee to recall a specific piece of information that a speaker strongly feels is shared knowledge. Such formulae usually lead immediately to new information, as if the narrator were in a hurry so as not to forget his/her train of thought. In order to be new, a string must not be assumed to be shared knowledge, but, we know that an addressee may prevaricate at any time. One may pretend not to know--feign utter amazement at hearing a message, thus throwing a speaker off guard. (Linguistic analyses of spy-vs.-spy conversations as well as conversations amongst counterspies might prove interesting). A very large part of the art of speaking/writing is a mastery of the manipulation of assumptions about shared information.

VIII. A CONTINUUM OF STYLE AND MARKEDNESS

Let us look at a small excerpt of a make-believe spy novel. The main character has been taken prisoner by the KGB.

- (41) ... I followed through the main entrance and *was led* into a small, hexagonal room with oyster-white walls. It turned out to be large enough to accommodate four good-sized adults and two large tables.

We can compare (41) with an anti-passive rendition in (42):

- (42) ... I followed through the main entrance and Δ *led me* into a small hexagonal room ...

It should be obvious that in (41) the author has exercised the option to delete an agent¹² as undesirable information since a specific name at this point would not help the narration and may even spoil the desired effect by (1) causing a reader to concentrate too much attention on a new character which (2) the author may not wish to mention at this juncture in the plot, and (3) linguistically speaking, may even slow down the reader's pace in reading through this narrative, which, as it turns out, should move along at good speed since it is somewhat of a perilous moment for the hero. So, an agent here (and one we might assume is able information since a specific name at this point would not help the narration and may even spoil the desired effect by (1) causing a reader to concentrate too much attention on a new character which (2) the author may not have mentioned at this juncture in the plot, and (3) linguistically speaking, may even slow down the reader's pace in reading through this narrative, which, as it turns out, should move along at good speed since it is somewhat of a perilous moment for the hero. So, an agent here (and one we might assume is *new* information, making this possibly ungrammatical) will tend to *foreground* the narration at a point where it is more desirable to have *backgrounding* (achieved by passives). This, then, is a direct appeal to a contextual

continuum. The phenomenon is not isolated, however, since it is tied in most aggressively with sentences composed across conjoiners such as AND and BUT. These conjoiners, indeed, require context-restrictive adherence to certain rules of *voice* as a category of the verb. The first-person narrator is "subject" in an *active* string, but is also "subject" in the *passive* string following conjoiner AND.¹³

Let me present this style calculus involving conjoiners in terms of a quasi deep-structure analysis. We will begin with some sample narrative strings.

- (43) Bill fell down and_c got hurt. (pseudo GET PASSIVE)
- (44) Bill fell down and_c was hurt. (true PASSIVE)
- (45) *Bill fell down and_c Δ hurt him. (not equivalent semantics)
- (46) Bill challenged John to a duel and_c was shot.
- (47) Bill challenged John to a duel and_c he shót him / ĩm /.
- (48) ?Bill challenged John to a duel and_c hé shot him / ĩm /.
- (49) ?Bill challenged John to a duel and_c he / ɪ / shot him.

We also give their respective negations:

- (50) Bill fell down but_c didn't get hurt.
- (51) Bill fell down but_c wasn't hurt.
- (52) *Bill fell down but_c Δ didn't hurt him.
- (53) Bill fell down but_c he / ɪ / didn't get hurt.
- (54) Bill challenged John to a duel but_c he / ɪ / wasn't shot.
- (55) Bill challenged John to a duel but_c he wasn't shot.
- (56) ?Bill challenged John to a duel but_c hé didn't shoot him / ĩm /.
- (57) ?Bill challenged John to a duel but_c he / ɪ / didn't shoot him / hĩm /.

In terms of mini-dialogues, we also can see the same kinds of constraints working between *old*, *shared*(u) information and *new*, *unknown* (m) information.

(58) MDI: Q₁: Why is that student so excited?

(59) MDI: A₁: He got *the* scholarship.
old old

MDI:A is the result of an answer which reflects the fact that the speaker is fairly sure that the questioner knows about a scholarship contest. The student clearly is shared information. The *definite* article assures old information here. Two more answers are possible, compare:

(60) MDI:A₂: He was given *a* scholarship.
old new

(61) MDI:A₃: He was given *the* scholarship.
old old

Now, (59)=(61), and passive or active appears to be an *independent* choice. A₁ can be said to be barely pseudo-passive with GET since the winner of the scholarship is beneficiary in A₁, A₂, and A₃. In A₂ we feel that if *scholarship* is *new*, then there may be *degrees of access* to knowledge assumable amongst addressees. Perhaps A here is more unmarked--say u_y--or a better answer to the question than A₃, with the use of THE:u_x. Indeed, A₁ can actually be improved by using A:[u_y], as in:

(62) He got *a* scholarship [u_y].

As things stand, A₁ assumes the most shared information; on the other hand, A₃ seems a bit strange with old PATIENT in a (past) perfect passive. In any case, A₄ is weird:

(63) MDI:A₄: ?They gave a scholarship to a student.
new new

Now, if we were to agree with the anti-passivist cadre and filter out the passive as a category of quasi-optional application (and also the French *pseudopassif* with S-initial *beneficiaries*), we would be saddled with strings such as:

- (64) * Δ gave the student the scholarship.
 *old BEN old PAT
- (65) * Δ gave the scholarship to the student.
 [u] PAT *[my] BEN

A simple dative-exchange transformation in the predicate string (PRS)

- (66) PRS[BEN[STUDENT]BEN PAT[Scholarship]PAT]PRS

cannot ameliorate the situation. This again is a forced active voice or "S"VO with the analysis : AVP= Δ VP, which generally is a pure instance of AVP, but here it is to no avail. The surface string

- (67) * Δ gave the scholarship to the student.

raises an interesting problem. The string BEN[STUDENT]BEN, from the previous sentence, should be *old*, but in an AVP frame (and as final string in the PRS) is perceived (wrongly) as *new*. This leads us to a semantic oxymoron, and a pragmatic anomaly and classroom chaos; hence there is an illegal felicity conclusion reached here.

The desire--even pressure--at the surface level is to put new strings at the end (best at the very end of the PRS). This may well explain one reason why recent scholarship has frowned upon AGENT as a necessary derivative in passivization (Chafe, Postal and Perlmutter, and followers of the *Relational* or

Applicative Grammar [RAG] models, in general).¹⁵ Generally a PATIENT in passives is old. This means that if AGENT has *not* been *chômeured* (*à la* RAG), it will be *new*. If new is needed for felicity, it will not undergo *chômage*, but should be retained.¹⁶

X. IS VOICE CONTEXT-FREE?

À propos style calculi, one might inquire whether VOICE can be considered context-free. We ask whether we have any context into which a sentence S_x might be embedded, such that this S_x can be either active or passive (depending upon the construction of S_x , of course, as noted earlier for Quantifier calculus). This is a situation of pure style and should be very rare, considering the fact that old/new information dictates the need for fronting a PATIENT.

XI. PASSIVITY AS ENIGMA TO ESL LEARNERS

In this section I would like to explore some of the contact-contrastive issues that have emerged from my teaching for some 15 years a core course in linguistics at USF.¹⁷ ESL teachers cum composition instructors will need to face real interactive constraints on active/passive relations as these compare with English and non-English structures.

First, I will turn to a very revealing potential ESL trouble spot in Navajo (Demers and Farmer, 1986: 7.11). This language has a *protocol calculus* among NPs based upon a *totem* pragmatics system. We can harken to the earlier discussion of biological classification in order to realize the nature of the constraints in Navajo morphosyntax. We will offer some of the Demers-Farmer sentences below.

- (68) t'íí tsé yizta†
 horse-AGT rock-PAT AGT="S": kicked
 'The horse kicked the rock'

- (69) *Tsé ʔíí biztaʔ
 rock-PAT horse-AGT PSV="S": kicked
 'The rock was kicked by the horse'

This latter sentence (69) should be corrected to (70):

- (70) ʔíí tsé biztaʔ
 horse-AGT rock-PAT PSV="S": kicked

The preverb *bi-* identifies the PAT as the "subject" so that 'horse' is AGT. Thus, Navajo indicates the relationships by morphology. Since the ranking calculus is fixed, the preverbs dictate the old/new information. We can conclude that Navajo does not offer a typical passivization.¹⁸

We obtain the following ranking orders for a few NP given in the Demers-Farmer data: HORSE > ROCK; CAT > MILK; DOG > DISH; CAT > BOOK; SHEEP > GRASS; BOY > BOOK. In these examples the higher ranking is due to *animacy*. In the next list we have further restraints available according to biological ranking: BOY > FLY; BOY > DEER; MAN > ANT; HORSE > MOSQUITO; BOY > RABBIT; GIRL > SHEEP, but not *BOY > GIRL; *GIRL > BOY; *MAN > WOMAN; WOMAN > MAN; *HORSE > SHEEP; *SHEEP > HORSE; *NEEDLE > DISH; *DISH > NEEDLE. Again, in the area of grammatical categories, we can offer the order AGENT > INSTRUMENT: WOMAN > NEEDLE; BOY > KNIFE, WARRIOR > GUN; WOMAN > MIXING-BOWL. Since Fillmore claims *instrument* as basically *inanimate*, we ought to find little inconsistency here. In Navajo, higher ranked NPs must precede lower ranked NPs, no matter what the Common I.E. morphosyntactic experience dictates. Since position is locked in, as it were, the onus of "voice" rests with the verbal prefix. (That is, the translation-equivalent of the Navajo into an common I.E. experience). Let us inspect a table representing the arrangements.

- (71) # NP₁ + NP₂ + yi--VERB #
 # NP₂ + NP₁ + bi--VERB #
 iff: NP₁ and NP₂ are of equal rank, e.g.: MAN = WOMAN.

- (72) # NP[↑] + NP[↓] + yi--VERB #

- (73) # NP[↑] + NP[↓] + bi--VERB #

but not

- (74) *# NP[↓] + NP[↑] + yi--VERB #

- (75) *# NP[↓] + NP[↑] + bi--VERB #

where: *# NP[↓] + NP[↑] + X #

For purposes of experimentation in an ESL setting, it would be interesting to inspect the syntactic nature of English passivization against to morphological assignments of topic in Navajo. We as ESL instructors will need to know why a speaker of Navajo treats sentences such as

- (76) The fly bit the horse. (N*)¹⁹

- (77) The dish was overturned by the cat. (N*)

If Navajo locks in a *protocol calculus* at the syntactic level, such sentences above in English should be considered ungrammatical by them, and resisted.

For ESL instructors faced with Arabic speakers, Keenan's (1975, 342) and Caffisch and Kelada's (1979) data show that AGENTED sentences (with *chômeurless* AGT/SRC) are impossible, *ceteris paribus*:

- (78) qatala ?al-sayaad-u ?al-asad-a.
 [killed the-hunter the-lion]
 'the hunter killed the lion'

but

- (79) *qutila ?al-asad-u min taraf ?al-sayaad-u.
 [killed the-lion by means (of) the-hunter]
 'the lion was killed by the hunter' (=A*)

Generally for Arabic speakers, I have found that the topicalization of PATIENT is a popular device to accept in Arab-English [AE]:

- (80) *The lion--the hunter killed it.* (=E*)²⁰, where it reinforces the e_i trace from which the lion was promoted. This phenomenon could be a universal tendency, that is, the use of a particle derivative to fill the spot vacated by a promoted item.

With the Arabic data, we are closer to a reason why the passive performs an important literary function (in agreement with both Chafe and the RAG cadre). AGENT-suppression in English can be a choice (but not without semantic differences, of course); in Arabic AGENT and SOURCE must be suppressed. Both Turkish and Modern Farsi are similarly designed in usage; yet, for them, passives are possible, and each of these is a member of different phyla--Altaic and Indo-European, respectively.

Polish supplies us with an interesting problem. AGENT regularly is *chômeured* if it adds no information for an addressee, or the string otherwise seems obvious from the standpoint of pragmatosemantics.

- (81) studenci byli zapytani *przez profesora.
 'The students were questioned by the professor.' (=P*~?)

Generally in a student atmosphere, questions are given by professors, but in (81) below we cannot expect [u] AGENT:

- (82) studenci byli zapytani przez robata^[m].
 'The students were questioned by the robot.'

Similarly, we can add (83)

- (83) studenci byli zapytani przez milicjanta^[m]²¹
 'The students were questioned by the officer.'

Like Navajo, Russian has a strange cooccurrence restriction in passives that amounts to a selectional restriction prohibiting promoted PATIENTS from cooccurring with imperfective verbs with -SA. ²² The SA is considered by some syntacticians to be a *derivative* of the transported PATIENT string. We can view it as a replacement for the missing PATIENT for *imperfective* verbal derivatives (See: Babby and Brecht, 1975). Thus, (84) is considered impossible in Russian, but fine for English speakers:

- (84) *sobáčka mylas' otcom mal'čika.
 [doggie (was) being washed father-INS boy-GEN]
 'The doggie was being washed by the boy's father.' (=R^{*}/E^{ok})

The perfective aspect (+), on the other hand, marked by -EN in the surface (in Standardized Russian), exists in syntagmatic cooccurrence relation with animate promoted PATIENT, as seen in (85):

- (85) sobáčka byla omyta otcom mal'čika.
 [doggie-NOM was washed father-INS boy-GEN]
 'The doggie was washed by the boy's father.' (=R^{ok}/E^{ok})

For the Russian speaker as well as for the Navajo speaker, the problem like the syntax in (84) is based on cooccurrence restrictions put on syntagmatic ordering. The Russian is limited to cooccurrence of animacy with imperfectivity and the Navajo problem--more morphophonemic than syntactic--deals with a totem order that likewise is syntagmatic. Passivity in Russian follows a generalized I.E. plan or template, but the Navajo really lies outside a passivity issue. This issue involves an interesting *interlanguage interpretation* based upon the syntax of features existing in a cooccurrence partnership. Because of that, the Russian and

Navajo speakers alike are faced with interpreting the English speaker's ability to accept strings such as *The dish was overturned by the cat*, or *The issue was tabled by the Chief* (for Navajos), and *The parakeet was being fed by Auntie Katya*, or *The horse was being beaten by Vladimir Artem'evic*. (for Russians).

In this paper I have examined many different ideas in an attempt to find sane answers to the enigmatic passive question. I have explored some continua of structure. I have found no questionnaires which can give clues to the culprit or culprits. There would seem to be an entrenched prejudice based on acceptance of some kind of prescriptive consensus--some norm as defined *nolo contendere* by the instructors themselves. Many such instructors do not seem to know the reasons against the passive. Basically, three *ad hoc* reasons seem to surface and all are impressionistic:

- a. Passives are "weak."
- b. Passives have no "action."
- c. Passives "detract" from the composition.

These reasons suggest that teachers may not be aware of the techniques of discourse analysis (DA), or the use of functional sentence perspective (FSP) in the Slavic communities and various other felicity calculi relative to structural matters involving *foregrounding*, *backgrounding*, and *focus*. One thing which is rather suspect is the fact that many instructors appear to recognize passives only in their full forms, i.e., initial PATIENT, presence of BE, and "by" AGENT. *Veiled* passives filter right through their proscriptive efforts.

One such veiled type is the source for any *passive participle* (in the generalized I.E. experience). Certainly, the various derivatives of passives are accepted such as we see in the following sentence:

(86) Refried beans are a staple for Mexican food.

In (86) we find the surface adjective *refried*, but no composition instructor unless trained in linguistics would recognize the word as a verb derivative involving a passivized sentence which according to at least one generative interpretation can be made as follows:

(87) $S_1[BEANS]_S[PSV - \Delta D_1 RE--FRYBEANS]_S Z_3 BE A STAPLE FOR MEXICAN FOOD]_S$

The success for the veiling is due to the fact that at least four major transformations are responsible for giving the surface form: PASSIVIZATION, WH-RELATIVE PRONOUN, WHIZ, and ADJ-PROMOTION.

XII. A TOPICALIZATION VS. FOCALIZATION CONTINUUM

Topicalization routines are the *pièce de résistance* in the menu of topics presented in this paper. These factors are little known, or if known, imperfectly applied. Topicalization is a discourse dynamic that has a basic role in the pragmatosemantic world. Markedness assignments to sentences S_1 and S_2 , say, are such that if S_1 has a higher new content level than S_2 , then S_1 is topicalized so that in a passive string like (88)

(88) $A \text{ pet}$ was sold to a boy.
new: $x + 1$ new: x

where the string *a pet* is topicalized at the pragmatosemantic level (decided upon at that level).²³ The realm of semantics according to this analysis favors a generative approach; yet, clearly, the determiner in word-initial position may be neutralized two ways: (1) the definiteness may be seen in all three forms: *A~THE~Ø* as seen in (89)

(89) a. *The* aardvark likes ants.
b. *An* aardvark likes ants.
c. $\emptyset$ Aardvarks like ants.

and (2) *definite/ unique* can override as in (90)

(90) *The pet was sold.*

and not

(91) **A pet was sold*

but

(92) *There was a pet that was sold.*

can obtain since *definite* PATIENTS are favored over indefinite/non-unique ones. The sentence-introducer in English: *There was a /were Ø...* allows indefinite here; whereas, the formula *There was/were the ...* falls back on the issue concerning contextual compatibility under the rubric of continuum VII.

The basic *raison d'être* for passive strings is to *reduce* the AGENT strings in larger contexts. We know this from the fact that AGENTS often are unspecified. When PATIENT (NON-AGENT) strings are topicalized, they are given primary attention, and if the AGENT is specified, it is put into focus as a generally unexpected [m] string. Topicalization, therefore, probably should be the area in which to concentrate. All the rest is *argumentum ad misericordiam et ignorantiam*.

NOTES

1. Not STRIKE₂ (idiomatic) in the sentence *Joe strikes₂ me as a true airhead*. It seems at times that Fillmore's term PATIENT is a true godsend in the classroom.

2. WEIGH₁ is used in the sense John weighs₁ only 110 pounds; whereas WEIGH₂ is used in the sense: John weighs₂ parcels at the Okeefenokee Swamp Post Office. Somehow we seem to accept the sentence A good time was had₂ by all. Other verbs of this ilk are HOLD and COST.

3. I have had vastly more success in teaching Fillmore's terms to students than in sticking to traditional strings such as *direct object* and *indirect object*. Students are confused over the idea how a young lady who gets an expensive diamond ring from her beau is somehow an *indirect* person. Good transitives seem to accept reflexivization or passivization: *Joe weighed₂ himself*, but we have problems with **Jim has himself* and **\$5 dollars was cost by the dress*. The last example involves NPs that relate together--a situation denied to good transitives.

4. If we consider Hausa (a language of Nigeria), we note that the sentence *Ān haifēni* translates literally: **One bore me*. It would appear that one language's *activum tantum* is another's *passivum tantum*. Hausa syntax ought to present problems in interference with English in an ESL setting.

5. *Surface* here is in Chomsky's sense.

6. Discontinuous structures are noted at the *surface* levels of analyses. For English verb morphology, Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957) discusses discontinuity, but replaces it in a deep structure format with *continuity*. For the verbs HAVE and BE, Chomsky proposed {HAVE + D₂} and {BE + ING} for ACTIVE VOICE. For PASSIVE VOICE {BE + D₂} must be an additive or derivative (in the mathematical sense) before the main verb. At this point a few words about GET PASSIVE may be in order, although I cannot expand on it at length. I feel that GET is rapidly becoming a morpheme in English which represents an *aspectual* marking. From the point of view of aspect, the conservative apparatus features a

DO-SUPPORT law in grammar. DO-SUPPORT is in complementary distribution with PASSIVE. Such an organization serves to help, not hinder, a recognition of passive strings. A different situation exists with GET PASSIVES., as the data below reveal. The first set is conservative.

- (A) Grimy Slickfingers stole the red corvette.
- (B) The red corvette was stolen.
- (C) Did Grimy Slickfingers steal the red corvette?
- (D) Grimy Slickfingers didn't steal the red corvette.
- (E) Didn't Grimy Slickfingers steel the red corvette?
- (F) The red corvette wasn't stolen.
- (G) Was the red corvette stolen?
- (H) Wasn't the red corvette stolen?

The second set involves GET PASSIVE.

- (A) The corvette got stolen.
- (B) The corvette didn't get stolen.
- (C) Did the corvette get stolen?
- (D) Didn't the corvette get stolen?

Here GET, as BE, is assigned a D2 structure, but DO-SUPPORT, interestingly, may apply to GET PASSIVES only.

7. See McCawley (1968), Fillmore (1968), Postal (1986), Jackendoff (1972), and Lakoff (1972), to name four.

8. Desclés (1985: 37) claims that these sentence types are a better argument than the original Chomsky pair.

9. Copi and Gould (1978), for example.

10. *Aktuální členení větné* [ACV] concentrates attention on the relevant element(s) of a sentence as the integral part of a discourse calculus. In English it is often translated as *functional sentence perspective* or *FSP*. Originally, the Prague investigators had noted fundamental, invariant order differences between English and Czech in the ways available to each for making an OLD rheme "subject."

11. "Information strategies in the paragraph," KICL/SIS, Richmond, KY, received excited criticism from Kenneth L. Pike, who felt that such strategies and their study were long overdue and ought to find their way into the analyses of contexts greater than the paragraph. Generally, for western culture, and Indo-Aryan, in general, the notion of *paragraph*, like the tacit, assumed meaning of *word* or *syllable*, is somewhat a psychological Sprachgefühl contained in a thought unit within greater composition.

12. Agent has undergone *chômage*.

13. I call these sentences AND/BUT CHÔMAGE SYNDROME [ABCS].

14. Grm. *Merkmalllos*; Frn. *non markée*; Rus. *nepriznakovyj ~ nemarkirovannyj*; Pol. *nieznaczony*.

15. Desclés, *et al.* (1985). The addition of AGENT strings for PSV sentences would seem to me to be a pragmatic *focus override*. Often the apparent ungrammaticality is due to the fact that the balance of known/unknown information has been unjustly tilted. The AGENT additive is superfluous since it, in contrast, is old information.

16. See the Polish examples given later where AGENTS are kept for the sake of *pragmatic felicity*. Knowledge of the cultural aspects of civilization are a must in terms of judging chômeurability constraints.

17. My course, LIN 6405 Contact-Contrastive linguistics. This course also examines error analysis and the interlanguage syndrome [=hypothesis] and the ways these relate to Universal Grammar and the idea of étalon relations. All arguments in this class are initiated by data presentations in which students search out both *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic interference* possibilities (in U. Weinreich's sense).

18. Since some languages show syntax as prime indicator (Mandarin), some partly syntactic, partly morphological (English), and others morphonological (Navajo), Desclés, *et al* (1985:1) see passivization as a *relational* phenomenon in terms of its description on a *universal* plane. That is, relational is the universal common denominator since surfaces are so diverse.

19. Here (=N*) means that the English sentence presents a problem for acceptability to a Navajo speaker.

20. For a more comfortable sentence, we could recast the sentence: *As for the lion, the hunter killed it.* (or, but less remotely, *It was a lion that the hunter killed*).

21. In modern, post-Jaruzelski Poland, the milicjant no longer has specific cultural status. The agent here is all the more interesting since the Polish student's ambiance normally does not involve the police. As noted

earlier (n. 16), speakers often do need to know the laws of chômage in terms of pragmatic constraints as they interact with the "likelihood of being understood."

22. This *-SĀ* marking has allomorphs *-sā* and *-s'*. For discussion concerning this cooccurrence relation, see Babby and Brecht (1975). Again, the marking (not a morpheme for consideration in a base) is a derivative in the mathematical sense (Caflisch, 1979).

23. See Bellert and Ohlin (1978).

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